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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

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newly acquired land. In long-range terms I suspect this is also the stand for the more enlightened members of the *Corporación*, the difference being – and it is quite significant – that they envision a more gradual process. They have a different timetable. The rank-and-file members, however, perhaps do not see too clearly that ultimate division of reservation land and incorporation of the Indian into Chilean society is a goal of their most informed leadership.

Corporación Araucana is interested in maintaining the present reservation system and acquiring government assistance for the betterment of the Indians. The *Corporación* argues from historical evidence that *división* means, under present conditions, a transfer of lands from Mapuche to Chilean, and points to developments in provinces contiguous to Cautín as twentieth-century examples. *Corporación Araucana* emphasizes the gradual intellectual, moral, and material uplifting of the reservation Mapuche. It suggests that when the Mapuche are able to hold their own against white landowners (date unspecified), the time for *división* will have come. The reservation system is not defended on romantic grounds but on those of common sense and expediency. Among the less politically enlightened Mapuche, however, the emphasis seems to be placed on the romantic side of the issue – a preservation of the good old days.

Both groups are vocal in the public press and through elected representatives and appointees at all levels of government. The following quotation, taken from the newspaper *La Nación* of Santiago (printed in *Boletín Indigenista*, Vol. IV, June 1944, No. 3, pp. 115–17) bears this out:

> Don Ovaldo Vial, Minister of the Department of Tierra y Colonización, received a telegram yesterday from the Araucana Corporation, with headquarters in Temuco, informing him that in a special meeting it was decided to congratulate him for his interest in Indian problems. The telegram went on to state that the aim of the Araucanan Indians was to change their policy and organization, to obtain representation, to reorganize their education, economy and hygiene along progressive lines.
>
> The telegram also stated that for the past ten years they had been the victims of inhuman exploitation because of the present juridical system of the Indian courts. Their present dire poverty was a result of the authorization of expropriations and illegal sales of their lands.
>
> In view of our impossible situation – due to the present Law governing Indian Courts, we take the liberty of informing you that we repudiate the present legal system and believe that, since the problem is economic and social in nature, a reform of this law should be based upon a recognition of this fact.

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664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their two-fold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953, [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que solo los socios de la mencionada Sociedad recibiran Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinaran por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los indígenas, si, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigiran los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibiran su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así sera.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendran en nuestra secretaria los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaria Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidion Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out. 664

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform. 664 666 [622]

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change. 666 562 [242]

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment. 666 [203]

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [208] [613]

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated.

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family